

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

FOURTH YEAR, NO. 2.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1901.

Whole No. 159.

## BERNSTEIN AND THE "SCIENTIFIC" SOCIALISTS

A Thinker's Ideas Compared with the "Scientific" Contention that Socialism is Fixed and Subject to no Variation  
—Fact vs. Fancy

Under the title "How Is Scientific Socialism Possible?" there has appeared a lecture delivered by Edward Bernstein before the Berlin Society of Students, an organization devoted to the study of social science. We take from it the following extracts, which appear to us of interest to American Socialists:

"Science is, when we try to define it concisely, merely systematized knowledge. Knowledge means the recognition of the true essence and relation of things. As, however, according to the state of knowledge at a given time, there can be only one science covering a certain field of knowledge.

"In respect to the so-called exact sciences, this is generally recognized. It will hardly occur to anybody to talk about liberal physics, socialistic mathematics, conservative chemistry, and so forth. Is it different with the science of the history of man and social institutions? I can not admit it and consider a 'Socialistic social science' simply nonsense.

"Wherever we meet views of that kind we find after careful investigation that the mistake consists in the underestimation or ignoring of the difference between scientifically formulated theories or doctrines and science itself.

"That socialism is and can not be a pure science seems to me proven by what has just been stated. The definition as expressed in the term excludes it. No 'ism' is a science. What we signify by 'isms' are points of view, tendencies, systems of thought or demands, but not sciences.

"The foundation of any real or genuine science is experience. It builds upon accumulated knowledge. Socialism, however, is a theory of a coming state of society and, therefore, lacks the characteristic features of a strictly scientific conclusion. Nevertheless, there is an intimate relation between Socialism as represented by Social Democracy and science. Socialism draws in larger and larger measure upon the armory of science as the source of its strength.

"As a political party it stands nearest to science, representing a movement of an ascending class. As such it is freer in its criticism of the existing order than any other party or movement. And freedom of criticism furnishes the fundamental principle or perquisite of scientific insight.

"Society is a living, developing organization, and the party or class whose tendency is in the direction of progress and development may naturally be expected to show the greatest interest in knowledge and social development. This interest is present in the Social Democracy, because the knowledge of social inter-relations furnishes a means by which social progress can be accelerated. At the same time, this knowledge of social inter-relations can be used as a means to remove all conditions check-ing or retarding social evolution.

"Socialism is, as before stated, in a certain degree always a result of our will, but by no means of our fancy. In order to reach its desired goal Social-

ism needs the knowledge of the forces of society and their inter-relation, as a leading principle.

"The title, 'Scientific Socialism,' is misleading, as it may intimate that Socialism as a theory is pure science. This conception is not only a mistaken one, but it brings Socialism in jeopardy, because it is calculated to deprive it of one of the chief prerogatives of scientific judgment—namely, of scientific impartiality. Each sentence in a given scientific construction of Socialism is then considered as a necessary link in the chain of Socialistic proofs in the form in which it is expressed. This is likely to be of great disadvantage in practical work. Therefore, I would prefer such a term of Socialism that would express the idea that it is based upon scientific insight and recognizes that as its leading principle, but at the same time indicates that it does not claim to be science, and, as such, is not fixed and settled at any time.

"It is always subject to variation. The term that best expresses the essence of this 'ism' is Critical Socialism—the word 'critical' being used in the Kantian sense of scientific criticism."

So much for Bernstein's thought-provoking views. They will not be altogether new to readers of The Herald, which has stood for Socialism as an art dealing with social phenomena and evolution. The contention of the self-styled "scientific" Socialists that Socialism is formulated, fixed, settled, subject to no variation (as the editor of The Challenge recently declared) is pure nonsense; to call it science is folly. Socialism without variation is dead. A "science" that has nothing new to develop is a contradiction in terms. If Socialism is as firmly fixed as a theorem in mathematics, how do you explain Bernstein vs. Kantsky, Jaurès vs. Guesde, De Leon vs. Wilshire, and other conflicting and contending personalities in the movement?

Insisting upon a "scientific" Socialism, Socialists who are not scientists oppose immediate demands in a political platform. They advocate a declaration of principles which could be conveniently located on the point of a needle and include all their "science," but as a matter of cold fact would be nothing more, according to Bernstein and The Herald, than a meaningless jargon of revolutionary cant.

On the other hand, Socialists who are not "scientific," or at least do not repeat with tiresome and ridiculous iteration a phraseology that belongs to the region of fancy and not to the realm of fact, who study social phenomena and evolution with a view to using their knowledge in the interest and for the benefit of society, that is the oppressed, the proletariat, do favor and insist upon a practical platform of progressive and far-reaching reforms, never losing sight of the ultimate supremacy of the producers of wealth over all forms of injustice and exploitation—a condition which can be established only by the social ownership of the tools of production and facilities of distribution.

## A PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM DEMANDED

The impending convention at Indianapolis is one the importance of which all realize. It can cramp the movement into a narrow circle, or it can give it breadth and vitality. The real details of organization are of minor importance; the question is whether or not the party will adopt a strong, progressive platform.

There are many Socialists who believe in a simple revolutionary declaration, who are against any improvement of conditions, unless it is accomplished by the class-conscious workingmen through their own party and their own representatives.

On the other hand there are other Socialists who are willing to accept anything which will tend to a relief from the economic burdens which they bear, always bearing in mind that they are simply steps to the complete overthrow of the entire capitalist system.

Some are going to this convention with the avowed purpose of adopting a preamble and leaving the platform and its immediate demands to different localities, or subject to the approval of a central committee, which will place us in a position to keep up a most beautiful fight, and of all fights in this world the greatest and most contemptible are those which exist among fanatics and ignoramuses.

There is no sense in this convention adopting a preamble and leaving the fight to be carried on throughout the country, when there is a difference of principle which should be disposed of. Those who are in favor of a cataclysmic declaration, hollering three cheers for a co-operative commonwealth and against everything that may benefit the people as reforms should stand together, and those who believe in a progressive program should likewise take their position together and on principle at least, we should have a definite understanding, and to my mind, after a year or two, a great many who have heretofore been so wise will wake up to the realization that there is a difference in principle among socialists, and mere personalities have simply been demagogical sidelights.

Seymour Stedman.

Among those who may attend the Indianapolis convention from Chicago we have heard mentioned the following: Mrs. Corinne S. Brown, Mrs. Kate Johnson, Philip S. Brown, Seymour Stedman, C. T. H. Westphal, W. J. McSweeney, R. J. Robinson, Charles Tyl, F. Hlavacek, J. A. Ambrose, Isador La-doff and A. S. Edwards.

Comrades in Illinois branches can send their credentials to any of the fore-going in care of headquarters, or to C. T. H. Westphal, secretary of the state committee, 126 North Campbell avenue, Chicago.

### Arrangements for Convention

The following circular letter has been issued by the committee of arrangements for the Indianapolis convention: Pursuant to instructions which we have received from our respective national headquarters, and in conformity with notices issued from the same sources regarding the National Unity convention of Socialist parties to be held in Indianapolis, Indiana, on July 29th, 1901, we herewith extend you a cordial invitation to be present at said convention.

Being instructed to make such arrangements as would conduce to the economy and convenience of the delegates and facilitate the work of the convention, we hereby inform you that said convention will be held in Masonic Hall, corner of Washington street and Capitol avenue, and will be called to order at 10:00 o'clock on the morning of Monday, July 29th, 1901.

The Grand hotel, located at Illinois and Maryland streets, two blocks north of the Union Station, having made a special rate of \$2.00 per day, has been selected by us as the headquarters of the convention.

Cheap rooms and restaurants may also be found in the vicinity of the convention hall, and arrangements may be made to reserve rooms by forwarding instructions to George E. Mills, 122½ E. Court street, or to William Mahoney, 120 N. Penn street, Suite 18.

A special rate of one fare and a third has been procured upon the following terms: Those attending convention must purchase first-class tickets within three days from opening of convention, not including Sunday, and must get a certificate from the railroad agent showing that such ticket was bought to attend the Socialist convention. These certificates must be presented at convention on 31st day of July to be signed by secretary and representative of railroad. Upon fulfillment of these conditions a return ticket may be purchased for one-third regular fare; provided, that there be at least one hundred certificates representing tickets for which not less than seventy-five cents have been paid.

It is important that at least one hundred certificates be presented in order to get the benefit of the reduction, and these tickets must not be sold or speculated in, as the party is pledged to redeem all such at full rates.

Hoping that your respective organizations will be represented with delegates contributing their wisest counsel to the assembled Socialist forces, we conclude by proffering our labor in the performance of any services which we may be able to render to visiting delegates. Yours fraternally,

Geo. E. Mills,  
R. Greiling,  
J. W. Kelly,  
M. H. Weil,  
Wm. Croke,  
Leon Greenbaum,  
E. Val Putnam,  
M. S. Hayes,  
Wm. L. Hamilton,  
Wm. Mahoney.

Joint Committee on Arrangements.

### Illinois Social Democrats

A special meeting of the Social Democrats of Illinois affiliated with 126 Washington street will be held at Lauterbach's hall, North Clark street, Chicago, Sunday afternoon, July 21, at 2:30, to which all members of the branches in this state are urgently invited.

Branches throughout the state not intending to send a delegate to Indianapolis may forward their credentials to the secretary of this committee.

Arthur Dennison, Chairman.

C. T. H. Westphal, Secretary.

### Unprecedented Meetings

The attendance at Comrade E. V. Debs' meetings in South Dakota, where he spoke on Socialism under Chautauqua assembly auspices, was unprecedented in the history of that state. He has already been engaged for next year, provided he can fill the appointments, and everywhere the people are clamorous for his return. At Aberdeen he broke all records of attendance and receipts, it being the biggest day in the twelve years' history of the assembly, exceeding "Bryan Day" two years, which had the record until the Socialist day this year.

The dangerous channel in East river between the mainland and Long Island, known as "Hell Gate," is properly "Hurl Gate," owing to the hurl and whirl of the water in passing through the channel. The battleship Massachusetts recently went through the gate unharmed, and steamers of equal length, carrying hundreds of passengers, daily navigate the channel, to improve the navigation of which the government expended \$20,000,000. Still, the name of Hell Gate sticks. The idea of a hell gate through which oceans of water are incessantly pouring is not orthodox.

## NARROW DOGMATISM IN THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Socialists Who Arrogate to Themselves the Privilege of Determining What the Convention Shall Do—Social Democrats Will Not Be Browbeaten

When the chairman's gavel falls on the first session all organizations participating in the convention must forever cease to exist as having any political significance, and any attempt to revive them is the worst of treason to the proletariat of America.

—A. M. Simons in Inter. Soc. Review.

The Herald congratulates the Socialists of the various organizations to be represented in the Indianapolis convention, called in response to the action of the Social Democratic party last January, that in the six months elapsed since the proposition for a union convention was adopted there has been so little said by any representative of the different factions to complicate the situation or engender new causes for strife. We have on our part entirely refrained, even against provocation designed to have the opposite effect, from involving the comrades in any fresh and acrimonious discussion. And this we have done solely in the interest of harmony and final unity. A decent regard for the rights of the delegates, as well as our own self respect and loyalty to the decisions of our own organization, compel us, however, to enter a firm protest against the spirit of arrogance and discord manifested in the above quotation from an article by A. M. Simons in the International Socialist Review. When and by whom was A. M. Simons or the Review invested with the prerogatives of determining in advance of the convention what it shall or shall not do? Who clothed him with the office of dictator? Whence does he derive the right to issue bulls and formulate threats against Socialists—even the "Chicago" faction?

Let us understand each other: We of the Social Democratic party are quite willing to unite, if in its collective wisdom the convention finds a practical and honorable way for us to do so. We hope that "way" may be found—we will help find it. But we absolutely refuse to be united in accordance with any plan Editor Simons and others may have "up their sleeve."

Not Simons, nor any coterie in sympathy with him, shall determine for us the terms upon which we will unite. This shall be done by the convention, by the entire body of delegates conferring and reasoning together for the benefit of the Socialist cause. Any departure from

that program will be a "petty exhibition of jealousy, narrow partisanship and ignorant insularity," not promotive of union but of personal ambitions and animosities.

Again, let us understand each other: it is so much better than assuming a role that makes one ridiculous: The Social Democratic party has by general vote decided that the results of the Indianapolis convention shall be submitted for approval to the organization by referendum. The five members of the committee of arrangements representing us are charged with the duty of carrying out this mandate of the party. No delegate in that convention will have the right to do anything in violation of the expressed will of the party in this respect. Now comes Editor Simons and says in effect: "Any delegate representing the Social Democratic party (of Chicago, of course, for no other can be referred to) who does not abandon that organization when the chairman's gavel falls on the first session will be a traitor!" Such language is neither wise, diplomatic, nor sensible. It evinces a distinctly hostile and implacable spirit. It is a denial of professions of unity. It is mischievous, discordant and foolish.

We sincerely hope, for the sake of unity and the forward movement of Socialism, that few delegates will go to Indianapolis animated by a motive so entirely opposed to reason and common sense. We of the Social Democratic party will go there, not to be browbeaten by those who arrogate to themselves any sort of superiority or allow their petty personal littlenesses to overcome whatever nature, in a compensating mood, may have attempted to do for them, but as comrades pledged to the object for which the convention is held—Socialist Unity—and as such entitled to and demanding that when the chairman's gavel falls calling the first session to order it shall be on a convention of Socialists gathered together, on equal terms and with equal rights, to confer over, reason about and, let us all hope, to finally formulate a plan of union which will be acceptable to every delegate and to every organization represented. In such a convention there will be no need for the branding iron or an impudent censor hissing "treason" and deciding what it shall or shall not do.

## INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

BY KARL KAUTSKY

When the Socialists declare the abolition of private property in the instruments of production to be unavoidable, he does not mean that some fine morning, without helping themselves, the exploited classes will find the ravens feeding them. The Socialists consider the breakdown of the present social system to be unavoidable, because he knows that the economic evolution inevitably brings on those conditions that will compel the exploited classes to rise against this system of private ownership; that this system multiplies the number and the strength of the exploited and diminishes the number and strength of the exploiting classes both of whom are still adhering to it; and that it will finally lead to such unbearable conditions for the masses of the population that they will have no alternative but either to go down in silence or to overthrow the system of property.

Such a revolution may assume manifold forms according to the circumstances under which it is effected. It by no means must necessarily be accompanied with violence and bloodshed. There are instances in the history of mankind where the ruling classes were either so exceptionally clear sighted, or so particularly weak and cowardly, that they submitted to the inevitable and voluntarily abdicated. Neither is it necessary that the social revolution be decided at one blow; such probably never was the case. Revolutions prepare themselves by years and decades of economic and political struggles and changes; they are accomplished under constant ups and downs sustained by the conflicting classes and parties; not infrequently are interrupted by long periods of reaction. Nevertheless, however manifold the forms may be which a revolution may assume, never yet was any revolution accomplished without vigorous action on the part of those who suffered most under the existing conditions.

The empire's standing army now has 75,000 men, a large number of horses and mules and a full quota of aces. Forty thousand soldiers stationed in the Philippine Islands, 10,000 in Porto Rico and Hawaii, 5,000 in Cuba, and the remaining 20,000 are doing ornamental work, including murdering workmen, at any time capitalism may demand their services. Washington City is full of officers, naval and military, tricked out in gold lace and buttons, the admiration of themselves, representatives of various courts, and particularly of the men who are bosses of the entire nation.

### The Pope's "Bull"

The Pope is encouraging the organization of a Catholic (scab) workingmen's association in Italy for the purpose of combating the regular trade unions and Socialism. Says a dispatch from Rome, dated July 12:

"These societies will supply workingmen to take places of the strikers. The associations have a membership of 200,000. The Pope believes in the broad theory that a man has the right to work for an employer or not to work for him, but he concedes to the employer the right to employ men on such terms and conditions as he sees fit."

The empire's standing army now has 75,000 men, a large number of horses and mules and a full quota of aces. Forty thousand soldiers stationed in the Philippine Islands, 10,000 in Porto Rico and Hawaii, 5,000 in Cuba, and the remaining 20,000 are doing ornamental work, including murdering workmen, at any time capitalism may demand their services. Washington City is full of officers, naval and military, tricked out in gold lace and buttons, the admiration of themselves, representatives of various courts, and particularly of the men who are bosses of the entire nation.

## Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

## Executive Board

Seymour Stedman, Chairman, Illinois  
 Lester Laddell, Secretary, Illinois  
 Walter L. Berger, Wisconsin Alfred Hicks, Colorado  
 George S. Brown, Illinois Frederic Heath, Wisconsin  
 G. H. Stensons, Kansas G. H. Goebel, New Jersey  
 F. A. Lymburner, Iowa L. E. Miller, New York  
 Margaret Hallie, Massachusetts

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago post office as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, . . . . . *Editor*  
 EDWARD DEBS, . . . . . *National Sec'y-Treas.*  
 156 Washington St., Chicago.

**159** *The number of this paper. If the sum on your wrapper is 150 your subscription is complete. Please renew promptly.*

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1901.

Social Democratic Party Vote  
**1900 (PRESIDENTIAL) 87,024**

Certainly, there is an increase of wealth, but there is also an increase of poverty, else statistical figures lie like a Munchausen.

If workingmen would reflect that but for their work, chaos would take the place of order, they would unite and rule the world—particularly that portion of it known as the United States of America.

Dana Ricardo, in solving the problems of political economy, proceeded so far that he discovered workingmen to be a "commodity." A case of scientific insanity, or as Festus said to Paul, "Much learning doth make thee mad."

The cost of manufacturing steel rails has been materially reduced, but Morgan's billion dollar steel trust has advanced the price \$2.00 a ton. The trust controls thousands of miles of railroads, and thus has a sure thing.

"The Dingley tariff," says a republican paper, "is the mother of trusts and plutocracy," and that "it puts a tax on home consumption that foreigners may buy our products at a low price." For such things there is no help under republicanism.

Does history repeat itself? Certainly. Old Commodore Vanderbilt, founder of the New York Central dynasty, dealt largely in politicians. Members of the legislature, and J. Gould dealt in judges, and in these regards history is a ceaseless repeater.

The Chinese of Chicago have imported an up-to-date Joss from the celestial empire. It is made of wood, artistically carved and painted, and the almond-eyed sons of the sun say, "Me like Melicans, in Joss we trust. We make him all right. No Yankee Doodle in Joss."

The Chinese government has complied with the demand of Germany and will send a prince of the realm to Berlin to tell the kaiser that it regrets the killing of the German ambassador at Pekin. The apology will be a diplomatic lie, in which there is nothing singular, since all diplomacy is of that character.

J. Pierpont Morgan disposed of \$100,000,000 billion dollar steel trust stock while in Europe, and expended \$1,000,000 for pictures and bric-a-brac, showing himself to be about as big a fool as Count Boni de Castellane, who is squandering as much of old Jay Gould's estate as he can grab.

Germany boasts of having 107 electric railways with 1,792 miles of track and 5,974 motor cars. But the state of Massachusetts alone has 1,913 miles of electric railway track with 6,531 motor cars. Germany, hustle as much as she may, will have to play second fiddle to the United States.

In Kansas suicide has become epidemic. Men, women and youths are going over the border to an alarming extent. It was Sophocles, the Grecian poet, who held that "not to have been born is best," but once born, the right thing to do is to fight the battle of life with undaunted courage.

A graduate of Harvard, a ripe scholar, who is a master of Latin and Greek, speaks five languages, and writes German and French with the same facility that he writes English, is a waiter in a fashionable Broadway, New York, restaurant, carrying tray and towel for wages and tips, with scholarly dignity. He might have succeeded in his chosen lifework on one language.

A German paper estimates the population of the earth at 1,283,000,000. Of this sum total males predominate over females to the extent of 17,500,000. Such a peace will be stolen away.

lygamy and harems, to say nothing of their moral aspects. And yet Emperor McKinley keeps on the pay rolls of his empire, the sultan of Jolo and his dozen datus, each one of whom runs a harem, more or less numerously provided with wives, and "Old Glory" protects the abominable combination of filth.

Twenty-five young men, seeking admission to the West Point military academy, were turned down on account of defective eyesight. If such rigorous examinations were practiced in admitting members to congress, legislatures and to the judiciary, the resulting benefits would astonish and delight the people.

The supreme court, which has made the constitution of no more consequence than the decree of a Hottentot chief, brings to the front the fact that but for the constitution there could have been neither government, supreme court, congress nor president. The question before the American people is, "Will the people save the constitution?"

Some one predicts that Edward VII. will not be coronated in 1902, indeed, the soothsayer puts it that he will never be coronated. Perhaps. What of it? Coronations are not only foolish pageants, but abominably expensive and as the workingmen of England pay the cost it will be by money in their pockets if the piece of dampfholism is omitted.

The machinists at Cincinnati have got an injunction on their hands—the same old iniquity that has often done business for the robbing of labor. It may have a few more rattles on its tail and a large amount of venom under its fangs, but it is to all appearances the same old reptile always kept in the judicial Zoo when capitalism calls for it, and labor is warned not to tread on its tail.

A barrel of whisky, at Logansport, Ind., with a larger number of fights, murders and divorces in it than usual, recently went on a bust and killed several men and destroyed considerable property. It outlashed Mrs. Nation. It must have been the true Kentucky brand, a mixture of thunderbolt, greased lightning, nitroglycerin and other Kentucky ingredients, including a little Henri Watterson.

The street car strike at Albany, N. Y., cost two lives—men who had nothing to do with the strike—killed by the soldiers on duty. In addition to these two lives the strike cost about \$70,000. It cost the street car company \$17,500. It cost the strikers \$17,800, and it cost the city for troops \$33,700—and now there is talk of another strike because the corporation is not fulfilling its pledges.

European statesmen, English excepted, don't like the "Monroe doctrine," and since the United States grabs lands where she pleases her warning to European nations to keep off the western hemisphere is irritating and eventually they will combine to everlasting wipe out the Monroe doctrine. And Germany is now preparing a big navy for that purpose. Coming events cast their shadow before.

"Labor day," says the Age of Steel, "is more than a parade; it is a development." Under the reign of Socialism Labor day will not be abolished. It will take on a new glory. Toilers, regardless of race, color, sect, creed or affiliation, under the conquering banner of Socialism, they will tune their throats to sing: A labor day has come on the march of new ideas. Redeemed from wage slavery, oppression, groans and tears. The earth resounds with gladness, the fruitage of the years. And the right is marching on.

The papers throughout the country, not excepting the decent element of the Pennsylvania press, point to Philadelphia as a city which for venality and moral leprosy has won a place for itself which by comparison with any other municipal den of thieves is unrivaled in the history of the country. The plot to rob the city of "Brotherly Love" was as audacious as any scheme ever devised by pirates, brigands, train wreckers or burglars, and was carried out with a desperation of infamy which defies exaggeration, some conception of which is had by the offer of John Wanamaker to pay the city \$3,000,000 for the stolen franchises. It is doubtless true that some municipalities are stupid in greater rottenness than others, but it would be difficult to name one in which rascality does not prevail and looting is not practiced, nor is there any hope for a better condition of things until the ideas of Socialism prevail, and the people determine that all public utilities shall be operated for their welfare and not in the interest of scoundrelly corporations.

LOOK OUT FOR  
 "The Passing of Capitalism"  
 NEW BOOK

Preliminary Announcement Next Week

## Seven Straight at the Bull's Eye

A Baptist minister preached a Decoration day sermon in Pittsburgh, which contained more than the usual amount of what Socialists would call "good gospel." We reproduce a few pungent epigrams. The preacher, among other things, said:

"American privilege carries with it American responsibility."

"The American citizen must do guard duty forever, or the things which belong to 'Patriots' can backslide as well as Christians."

"There are more practical demonstrations of patriotism than yelling and shouting."

"The primaries and the ballot box require as much heroism as the battlefield."

"It used to be said that this country and slavery could not exist together, and we rose up and abolished human serfdom. There are no more black slaves—but think of the white ones."

"A united country counts no victories nor scores any defeats. We simply commemorate American heroism."

That clergyman has a level head on his shoulders. He is neither blind nor deaf, nor a coward. His utterances are replete with truths. He closed his sermon by reciting the following tribute to peace:

"Fold up the manner! Smelt the guns! Love rules. Her gentle purpose runs.

A mighty mother turns in tears  
 The pages of her battle years.  
 Lamenting all her fallen sons."

Decoration day oratory usually abounds in popgun rhetoric, designed to keep alive old issues without considering present conditions. The fact that white slaves now are far more numerous than were the black slaves when Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation is not considered, and the eternal truth that "Peace hath her victory no less renowned than war" is sent to the scrap pile and forgotten, while the rising generation is being educated to believe that guns, powder, shot, shell, blood and carnage symbolize the kind of civilization the world stands in need of to achieve progress.

## Wrong and Remedy

A writer, W. C. Wandley, in the Indianapolis Typographical Journal, sees many things in labor affairs which are out of joint. Men are overworked and underpaid, and in certain industries, such as cotton and wool factories, men and women, owing to foul air, low wages and poor and insufficient food, are degenerating in stature and propagating a pygmy race, dwarfs in stature and intellect. To remedy such defects, Mr. Wandley says:

"Personally, I would suggest as practical measures—

"(1) Eight hours for a day's work in all industries and mechanical pursuits.

"(2) Limit child labor—Let the children go to school. If there are not enough schoolhouses, use the churches; they are nearly all idle throughout the week, and would answer the purpose most admirably.

"(3) Decent homes and good sanitation—Let the streets in the tenement districts be swept as cleanly as in the most fashionable residential portions.

"(4) Pure food and good water—Stop the adulteration of food; filter the water.

"(5) Restrict immigration; in fact, suspend it for a period of five or ten years.

"These five items, I believe, will be sufficient to place us upon a basis somewhat approaching a genuine civilization.

Mr. Wandley fails to recommend fair wages, or suggest penalties for those who rob working men of a portion of the poor compensation they do receive. Who in the name of all the gods in a bunch are to bring about the reforms suggested. Mr. Wandley does not so much as intimate—and he is quite as dumb in the matter of methods. He plays Hamlet but neither Hamlet nor Horatio appears. Socialism in power would remedy the defects of which Mr. Wandley complains, and a hundred other things of which he makes no mention. It is the only organization or party in the world pledged to better conditions. But to accomplish its mission no miracles are to be performed. True, eyes are to be opened, ears are to be unstoppered. Men are to be enabled to see and to hear, but the task is to be accomplished by work, argument, reason, logic, agitation and common sense, by the ballot. Socialism proposes to inaugurate storms of ever increasing wrath against error—not spasmodic nor desultory, but ceaseless, a fight to the finish. "Oh!" says some weak-kneed son of a crawfish, "it will take a thousand years to reform the world." Possibly. But when it comes, then Socialists will be on hand to celebrate the new dispensation. Till then our banner will fly and the march will be onward and upward.

## The "Devil" and Strikes

In the dawning months of the twentieth century strikes are more rife and more comprehensive than for many a day in the past. Why is this? There must of necessity be a cause for this war spirit developing in the great army of labor, and it is well worth all the time expended in an investigation to learn its hidden meaning.

This quest is all the more interesting because of the ceaseless howl about the nation's prosperity, which, half true and half false, has created in the ranks of labor a purpose that in the division their share shall not always be the turkey buzzard, while the other fellow gets the turkey.

The true philosophy of strikes is found in the fact that conditions are abnormal—out of plumb, ricketty and ramshackled; that the "devil" is on top, and is directing affairs "ay much to the satisfaction of capitalism. The "devil" was never enamored of labor and is only delighted with his connection with it when by his devices he sees it degraded and writhing amidst squalor. The "devil" likes wealth, luxury and parade, whether found in church or palace. He likes trusts and corporations, syndicates, combines, where there is big money, to debase courts and congresses and legislatures, presidents and cabinets. He likes war because war is hell. The "devil" doesn't like the declaration of independence, the constitution nor liberty. The "devil" is an imperialist like Mark Hanna, Chauncey Depew and others of their ilk. The "devil" likes hypocrisy, cunning, lying and the general cussedness everywhere prevailing throughout Christendom, and labor, in striking for right and justice, is met everywhere by the "devil" in some form—sometimes in the form of troops with shotguns, sometimes in the form of an injunction with swarming marshals armed with clubs and pistols; sometimes the "devil" assumes the form of a labor leader, who, with more silver than Judas secured, plays his victims for all they are worth and secures a compromise which he calls a victory, and thus, like a yaller dog, takes his place under the carriage of his master.

The "devil" likes treason, strategem and spoils. He can assume more colors than a chameleon, and astonish the curious with more changes than an average kaleidoscope can produce. He is as tricky as a circus mule and as devout as a pharisee. He can be as bold as a lion, or as timid as a sheep; as noisy as a dervish or as silent as a boulder. The "devil" can transform himself into a prince of good fellows at banquet and hall, and make a better after dinner speech than Chauncey M. Depew or Bishop Potter. He is a welcome guest on "change," knows all about puts and calls and tips and favors those who are loyal to him as was seen in the case of Grover Cleveland, who pocketed \$400,000 in the great bond and stock carousal of thieves in New York. The "devil" is learned in ancient and modern lore and can converse fluently in all languages and dialects from Hottentot to pure English, which makes him at home at the universities when he admonishes presidents and professors to play traitor to truth and make a sure thing of their "bread and butter."

He attends all the funerals of dead millionaires and others whom he has branded as loyal subjects and sons like a water plug as the rites proceed. He walks arm in arm with kings and nobles and the aristocratic class, and is equally at home in a saloon hobnobbing with thieves and every grade of criminal known to the capitalist system.

This is the sort of a "devil" labor meets whenever it goes on a strike. He can stand firm in the face of everything but truth. He is a liar and the father of lies, and with an arrant coward, and when labor is united, bold, defiant and aggressive, the "devil" turns sneak and retires from the field. When labor is divided and engages in wrangling, the "devil" is on hand every time in the interest of plutocracy and chuckles over labor's defeats. It is eminently important that labor should understand the wiles of the "devil." Watch the tracks of his cloven hoofs and with courage of conviction resist him and his dupes. This done, labor will win victories in every contest; neglected, and the "devil" scores a triumph for the foes of labor.

## Debs and Judge Woods

The death of Judge Wm. A. Woods of the United States circuit court naturally brings up a chain of thought which may be useful and instructive at this time. Woods was the judge who constituted his high and exalted office to serve the railways and crush the laboring men who were struggling for enough of the products of their labor to keep their families from starving. He it was who sent Eugene Debs to prison for six months without trial for "contempt" of his most contemptible court, simply because Debs opposed with manly firmness the usurpations of this judicial scoundrel. It was this same Judge Woods who set free "Blocks of Five" Dudley and the other bribers and ballot-box stuffers at Indianapolis in 1880, and was promoted from the district to the circuit court by the republican administration for his rascality. In his charge to the jury Judge Woods said that "advising or counseling bribery is not punishable unless bribery is committed."

In the coming time when the co-operative commonwealth shall have been established, when each man shall receive the product of his toil and have time and leisure to think upon the various steps and acts which have led up to industrial emancipation, then these two men, Debs and Woods, will each be held in proper estimation by the world. Positively alone can properly write epitaphs. The memory of Debs will then be revered as one willing to suffer for his fellow men, while Woods will rank with Judas Iscariot, Grover Cleveland and Benedict Arnold.

We are apt to look upon death as an evil, and by the superstitious it is the "King of Terrors." But death is the supreme good. Were it not for death the old fossils would be in the majority and there could be no progress. Moreover, death is the great educator of the race. Mark Antony was wrong when he said, "The evil men do lives after them—the good is interred with their bones." It is just the other way. The good that men do lives forever, while the evil, if it lives at all, lives to be hated, and becomes an example to be avoided in the future. It is true that evil elements often try to bolster up their satellites and make them appear good. All the robber elements of this country will pronounce encomiums upon Judge Woods, while they have and will continue to cast odium upon Debs. But posterity will pass just judgment upon these two men, and the memory of Debs will be enshrined in glory, while that of Woods will be shrouded in eternal infamy.—Equality, Deadwood; S. D.

## The Detroit Conference

The social and political conference held at Detroit adopted the following elementary remedial measures as the result, in part, of its deliberations:

1. Direct legislation and proportional representation.
2. Direct nomination and the popular recall.
3. Equal suffrage on the same condition to all, regardless of sex or color.
4. Honest elections, free from partisan manipulation or control.
5. Direct taxation through progressive land value, income, and inheritance taxes.
6. Public ownership of telegraphs, telephones, railroads, and all other public utilities.
7. The eight-hour day.
8. The sole control by the people, through their government, of their medium of exchange.
9. Home rule for cities, and local option in taxation.
10. Postal saving banks, state insurance, and workmen's compensation for industrial accidents.
11. Opposition to militarism and conquest, and advocacy of international arbitration.
12. We demand for others the same rights and liberties we ask for ourselves.

The most interesting outcome of the conference, however, was the adoption of the following resolution:

"That the producer should have his product."—Six adverse votes.

"That the only guarantee of this result is the ownership by the producers themselves of the land and machinery necessary to production."—Nine adverse votes.

"That inasmuch as it is an economic law that industry operated on the largest scale is the most economical, and therefore the most desirable, the people should own and operate all industry upon such a scale."—Five adverse votes.

"That inasmuch as the people have already at hand in their various city, state and national governmental organizations the necessary framework for the construction of an organization for the operation of industry, the people, through these various governments, should take over the land and machinery for their own joint ownership and democratic management, in order that they may be able to distribute to themselves what they produce."—One adverse vote.

"That to attain this result we declare necessary the success of a political party representing the people who desire these ends."—Two adverse votes.

When the conference had acted on the foregoing resolutions, almost unanimously, it suddenly dawned upon the politicians present that they were being committed to socialism. One of them sprang to his feet and moved to lay all the resolutions on the table, and this was done by a vote of 35 to 30.

It is now held by the most eminent educators that athletics are an important, if indeed, they are not the most important part of college education. Strong legs and arms and well-developed backbones are regarded as essentials to success in all of the up-temperance affairs of life. Admit it and the fact supplies a reason why workingmen, who have strong arms and legs and heroic backbones, should have taken a more advanced position in public affairs. Neither Washington nor Lincoln were college bred and yet they are two of the most illustrious Americans whose names adorn history. But they were not only hard workers, but great students. If workingmen would improve their leisure hours by study they could control public affairs and become eminent as statesmen.

## INTELLECTUAL PROLETARIAT

By LEONARD LAMONT

Can there be a more pathetic sight than that of a sick infant in its utter helplessness and abandon? It feels acutely the intense pain without having the slightest idea about its origin, causes and nature, without being able to relieve the nervous strain by articulated, intelligent speech. The task of physicians treating infants is therefore of a higher order and their responsibilities of a graver nature than those of a general practitioner. An infant's physician must diagnose the sickness on the foundation of his own observation and studies and adopt a method of treatment according to his own conclusions.

The broad masses of the people may be aptly compared with an overgrown infant. Indeed, the masses are conscious of the social-economic diseases of the time as far as they feel their painful results. This consciousness is, however, of a rather vague character and does not extend to an intelligent conception of the origin, causes and nature of the diseases and the ways and means of their elimination. At times when the social economic diseases of an epoch reach their climax and the pain inflicted by them appear insufferable, the infant people loses its angelic patience. The long suppressed forces of resistance to social wrong find their vent in a purely elementary stroke at some object that happens to concentrate on itself the hatred of the masses. This object may be a Bastile or a king's head. Once, however, the fury of the people's wrath has spent itself the masses of the people relapse into the customary spiritual apathy and mental lethargy. The powers for evil once more reign supreme.

Fortunately there is a class of people in all the civilized countries of the world that are able and willing to cope with the difficult task and grave responsibilities of physicians of social economic diseases of their time. This class is called the class of intellectuals. The intellectuals impart rational consciousness to the blind social forces and try to direct them in certain channels of usefulness. The intellectuals represent the brain and heart of the people, the reason and conscience of their generation, the mind of their country. The intellectuals incorporate and preserve in their sanctuary the noblest ideals and highest aspirations of the human race. In the days gone by the intellectuals rarely belonged themselves to the broad masses of the people, to the oppressed and disinherited lower classes. If they identified themselves with the interest of the popular masses it was done by them out of considerations of a higher order than mere sordid selfishness. It was the deep consciousness of the highest interests of the race as a unit.

What is likely to be the part enacted by the intellectuals in the modern social-economic struggle of the proletariat against the encroachments of the exploiting upper classes? is the question that must interest every thoughtful student of our times. Whatever our answer may be, there is no doubt that the intellectuals have a stronger motive to work in the interest of the proletariat than the intellectual of preceding historical epochs. The socialists of the old school may still insist on overalls and tin pails as necessary insignia of a true proletarian. Some middle class optimists may still fondly cling to the legend about the self-made man. These narrow ideas and antiquated notions of people, that neither forget nor learn any thing, are doomed to disappear under the pressure of events. The mills of the tin gods of capitalism grind a great deal faster and finer than the old-fashioned mills of the ancient deities of Olympus used to do. The intellectual worker is turned into an insignificant appendix of the soulless giant corporations of manufacture, trade and commerce, just as fast and thorough as the ordinary unsophisticated proletarian is transformed into an appendix of the dead tool of production, the machine.

The same social-economic conditions that created the industrial wage-slave system gave birth to the intellectual proletariat. That the last must feel more in touch with the modern proletariat class as a whole, that it must be endowed with a deeper sympathy with the suffering of the masses, that it must fight with greater order for the cause of the emancipation of labor from capital than was the case with the intellectuals of other historical epochs appears obvious. Indeed the intellectual of other times was at best a benevolent stranger to the people, while the intellectual modern proletarian is one of the people himself and cannot help suffering and feeling with the people. The advantages to be derived from such an intimate relation between the proletariat and the class of brain workers are bound to prove themselves in the near future. Capitalism is itself cementing the union between the different wings of the proletarian class. The clerk, the teacher, the physician, the engineer, the chemist, the lawyer and other professional men feel more and more the growing economical insecurity of their occupations, due to the economic insecurity of the actual producer, the industrial laborer and the service. There seems to be an over-

production or underconsumption of professional men in the same measure as there is an excess of supply of labor of all kind. The reserve army of proletarians includes professors, teachers, physicians, chemists and other kinds of liberal professionals. Our present society teems with people able and anxious to be useful to society, but finding no employment, while there exists a great need everywhere in men anxious and capable to work. The anarchy of our social-economic system is the cause of this, as many other incongruities and absurdities that cannot fail to engage the attention of our intellectual proletariat and impart a powerful impetus to critical thought and prompt action.

Indeed the press, the pulpit, the representatives of science are diligently discussing the most striking phenomena of our social-economic system, as the trusts, disturbances of the labor market, board of trade manipulations, in a spirit of frank desire to arrive at the truth, that is very encouraging to the advocates of conscious social evolution. The social-economic diseases of our time approach their climax, the afflictions of the broad masses of the people are getting insufferable and the intellectuals are preparing themselves to perform their historical mission of leaders in the righteous struggle for justice and right in human interrelations.

A LAYMAN'S LETTER  
TO A CLERGYMAN

I wish I could inspire you with some of my own enthusiasm for Socialism. I would not care to have others sacrifice themselves quite so much for the cause as I have, but I know that every man who occupies the pulpit enjoys a vantage ground for performing whatsoever work the spirit may move him to do. I have studied and listened to and investigated a great many kinds of "isms" and I find that Socialism beats them all. I might say that it is the paragon of studies and most wonderful legacy that has been handed down to us from past ages. I am as thoroughly agnostic or atheistic as anyone can be, but sociology has revealed the mystery of the "Great Spirit" to me more satisfactorily than any other line of study. I do not believe with our limited vision we can sum it up any better than to simply say that "Several millions of human beings constitute the Great Spirit." That is an idea, which like many others, is being promulgated, and it is a great improvement I think over the theory of one spirit standing all by its lonesome.

The Great Spirit being divided up into so many fragments enables it to be omnipotent and omnipresent. A good explanation I think for the old and unexplained idea that God is everywhere and sees everything. Socialists come pretty near being concentrated deities, for they are witnesses and recording angels of the iniquities practiced by the rich upon the poorer classes. The same spirit that caused the priests of old to shrink with horror from the flaming light of Martin Luther is the name today which vainly strives to subdue the new flashlight of Socialism. As Marc Antony would say, "Honorable men, gentlemen drest in brief authority," labor to conceal all knowledge of the Great Spirit of Socialism from the minds of the people. They cry Peace, Peace when there is no peace and with a wisdom that is foolishness in God's sight they hope to stave off coming events by a sub rosa conduct. Spirits are very elusive creatures, although with a little more freedom of speech I think we may ultimately secure a more vivid description concerning them. Millions of human beings are suffering today and every day untold agony, simply because the right message is withheld from the world.

Emulating the egotistical manner of other doctrinaires, I would like to say that Socialism is the great and only message that is right and proper to be delivered to the people. What are the points to be achieved? A great many, but the principal one is that the wage earner receives in full the profits accruing from his labor. Unless you are willing to concede that point you must expect nothing but the destruction of every virtue which you as a clergyman endeavor to preserve. I will cite Carnegie as a notorious example of a wolf in lamb's clothing. He made a profit, or reaped a harvest of from \$1,000 to \$2,000 off each laboring man in his employ every day they labored. He coolly and deliberately robbed them because he was in a position where he might help himself and society looked on approvingly, because society is indulging in the same sort of crime and being ignorant does not exactly know just how to kick against that style of robbery. Carnegie's phenomenal donations go to prove that he might easily have paid his least deserving laborer \$25 or \$50 per day and even then he would have been abundantly able to donate several resplendent libraries.

What are the facts in the case? He grudgingly pays his men \$1 or \$2. They ask for an advance of 15 or 20 cents. His only reply is the king's last argument. Armed men are hastened to the scene.

It is suggested that the United States supreme court is not a proper place for presidential bees to buzz. It is a far better place for gold bugs to build their nests, and the wife of some of the judges have been pre-empted for that purpose.

not to settle the affair favorably for the robbed laborers, but to force them to submit to the millionaire philanthropist's way of thinking. The soul of the man in Homestead, Pennsylvania, by benevolent Carnegie will never be buried so long as the war between capital and labor exists.

What greater example of the deceitfulness of riches could we ask for? At present the labor unions do not fully acknowledge Socialism, but the capitalist class is rapidly crowding them into a corner where they will grasp at any straw. At present the great middle class do not take much stock in Socialist dreamers, but a couple of years from now they will scramble into the ranks of the pioneer Socialists and ask no questions.

What is the condition among the clergy? They are all more or less hampered and confined in their thoughts and utterances. We see just a few of them breaking away from the narrow path of capitalistic rectitude to join Socialism. Prof. Herron's domestic rupture was but a drop in the bucket compared with his open rupture against capitalism. Voltaire in his generation denied attacking the church. He claimed to be explaining it. Socialists of our generation are not attacking anything, they are only explaining all kinds of social phenomena. Let me illustrate right here. If a millionaire robs a million people we have on our hands one millionaire and one million paupers and a variegated assortment of criminals. As the days, months and years roll by and our population becomes more cosmopolitan even the dullest intellect cannot fail to notice that the whole of society is violating the laws of nature in order to comply with the laws laid down by Tom, Dick and Harry. When the psychological moment arrives I hope you will be fully prepared to give us a rousing good sermon on Socialism that will win converts over, for that is of vital importance to them so long as they remain in the flesh. I am, fraternally yours,

W. S. Equality.

## About Wages

I now ask you to pick up the dropped subject of the spread of cultivation. We had got as far as the appearance in the market of a new commodity—of the proletarian man compelled to live by the sale of himself! In order to realize at once the latent horror of this, you have only to apply our investigation of value, with its inevitable law that only by restricting the supply of a commodity can its value be kept from descending finally to zero. The commodity which the proletarian sells is one over the production of which he has practically no control. He is himself driven to produce it by an irresistible impulse. It was the increase of population that spread cultivation and civilization from the center to the snowline, and at last forced men to sell themselves to the lords of the soil; it is the same force that continues to multiply men so that their exchange value falls slowly and surely until it disappears altogether—until even black chattel slaves are released as not worth keeping in a land where men of all colors are to be had for nothing. This is the condition of our English laborers today; they are no longer even dirt cheap; they are valueless, and can be had for nothing. The proof is the existence of the unemployed who can find no purchasers. By the law of indifference, nobody will buy them at a price when he can obtain equally serviceable men for nothing. When then is the explanation of the wages given to those who are in employment, and who certainly do not work for nothing? The matter is deplorably simple. Suppose that horses multiplied in England in such quantities that they were to be had for the asking, like kittens condemned to the bucket. You would still have to feed your horse—feed him and lodge him well if you used him as a smart hunter—feed him and lodge him wretchedly if you used him only as a drudge. But the cost of keeping would not mean that the horse had an exchange value. If you got him for nothing in the first instance—if no one would give you anything for him when you were done with him, he would be worth nothing, in spite of the cost of his keep. That is just the case of every member of the proletariat who could be replaced by one of the unemployed today.—G. Bernard Shaw.

Ranaval, once queen of Madagascar, is now a prisoner of the French republic. The French army toppled over the throne, took possession of her island dominion, confiscated her property, personal and real, and secured 234,400 square miles of territory. Like England and the United States France is a pirate nation.

"The Basis of Future Wars," says Chauncey Depew, "is commercial." That means, if you stop to think about it, dear dollar-a-day workingman, that the basis of future wars is the surplus values produced by your class.

It is suggested that the United States supreme court is not a proper place for presidential bees to buzz. It is a far better place for gold bugs to build their nests, and the wife of some of the judges have been pre-empted for that purpose.

## THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

In northern zones the raving bear Protects himself with fat and hair, Where snow is deep, and ice is stark, And half the year is cold and dark, He still survives a clime like that By growing fat, by growing fat, These traits, O bear, which thou transmittest,

Prove the survival of the fittest.

To polar regions, waste and wan, Comes the encroaching race of man; A puny, feeble little lubber, He had no fur, he had no blubber. The scornful bear sat down at ease To see the stranger starve and freeze; But lo! the stranger slew the bear, And ate his fat, and wore his hair! These deeds, O man, which thou com-mittest,

Prove the survival of the fittest.

In modern times the millionaire Protects himself as did the bear. Where poverty and hunger are, He counts his bullion by the car. Where thousands suffer still he thrives. The wealth, O Croesus, thou transmittest,

Prove the survival of the fittest.

But, lo! some people odd and funny, Some men without a cent of money, The simple, common Human Race. Chose to improve the dwelling place. They had no use for millionaires; They calmly said the world was theirs, They were so wise, so strong, so many! The Millionaire? There wasn't any! These deeds, O man, which thou com-mittest,

Prove the survival of the fittest.

Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

## Chicago American's Platform

That great "Socialist" newspaper, Hearst's Chicago American, had a relapse the other day and gave the lie to its reputed socialist tendencies by saying:

"The democrats of Ohio have got together and prepared to wrest their state from the grasp of Hanna. The various factions, without which no party in Ohio would be complete, have composed their differences sufficiently to unite upon a platform and a ticket.

"The platform wisely drops the Killeney cat issues upon which the democrats of the nation have been beating themselves for some years and devotes itself to the live problems of the present.

"The platform stands for the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, a navy adequate to the protection of American citizens and property the world over; election of senators by direct vote, and the rights of labor to combine for the assertion of its rights and the protection of its interests. It calls for tariff reform and the suppression of monopolies as a means to which end it declares that all trust products should be placed upon the free list and the government should exercise more rigid supervision of transportation.

"It favors the restoration of the merchant marine without subsidies, insists upon the rigid regulation of public service corporations, including complete publicity for their accounts, and declares war upon corruption and bossism.

"The Ohio democracy never was in better position to make a winning fight than it is to-day. It has cleared away its dead wood and it ought to be at the beginning of a long career of honor and power."

## Labor in Moravia

An official report just issued by the Austrian minister of the interior at Vienna, on the button-making trade in Moravia has created a sensation. The report in part follows:

Average hours of work for men, nineteen; average hours of labor for women, seventeen; for children over ten years of age, twelve, and for children under ten years, eight.

The average earnings of a man are 30 cents weekly; of a woman, 20 cents weekly, and for a child, 8 cents weekly.

The average earnings of a whole family varies from \$22 to \$30 yearly.

The maximum sum which a full-grown man can possibly earn is 50 cents weekly, but this requires superhuman effort and is rarely accomplished.

The children have to begin, when three years of age, and work day and night when they are five.

The report states this as a typical case:

A family composed of father, mother and three children live in one room, which is both home and workshop. The room is ten by ten feet and six feet high. has one small window and contains four chairs and a table. The inmates have never seen a bed.

Their total collective earnings are \$40 yearly, and their expenditures for the last year have been: Bread, \$25; rent, \$5; rent of plot to grow potatoes, \$2; flour, \$5; petroleum, \$2; milk, 50 cents; miscellaneous, 50 cents. They never eat meat and cannot afford beer or tea, coffee or tobacco. Clothes are not mentioned in the items of expenditure.

On Wednesday, July 10, the comrades at Joplin, Mo., held a great outdoor meeting at which fully 500 people were present and promise to keep Jasper county thoroughly agitated during the summer.

## LOCAL BRANCHES

## CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, at 8 o'clock, at the Admiration room. Business meetings for members every Thursday evening. Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 2, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodmen's Hall, 1204 Spring street. J. S. Brainer, 427 N. Hill street.

Branch No. 3, San Francisco (German). Holds business meeting first Sunday in each month, at 1 o'clock p.m., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1600 Polk street.

## COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p.m., at City Hall. Chas. LaKamp, secretary.

## CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p.m., at P. Schaefer's, 109 Main street, Hartford. Louis Herrup, secretary, 115 Kinsky street, Hartford.

Branch No. 1, Rockville, meets second and fourth Fridays at Link's Hall, up-stairs. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 76.

## ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at J. H. Green's office, 32 Dearborn street. Branch No. 2 (Bohemian). Teath Ward, Chicago meets first Saturday in the month at Nagel's Hall, 1151 Blue Island avenue. Secretary, Albert Zeman, 741 Morgan street.

The Southwest Side German Branch, of Chicago meets second and fourth Saturdays, 1 p.m., at Ed Gottle's Hall, 1151 Blue Island avenue (near Lincoln street). Secretary, R. Fisch, 1151 Wood street.

Branch No. 1 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 8 p.m., in Bunder's place, 1000 W. 11th place. Joseph Dunder, secretary.

Branch No. 1 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 a.m., at 101 Lincoln street. J. A. Ambros, secretary, 1000 Wood street.

Branch No. 2, Chicago, meets second and fourth Fridays at Lundquist's Hall, 1151 and Morgan streets. Chas. Wistrand, secretary, 616 Aberdeen street.

Branch No. 3 (Swatolakrech) meets every third Sunday in the month at Pinger's Hall, corner Michigan and W. 11th place. Camil Kabat, secretary, 117 Swanwood avenue.

## INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Keckwien's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets. Address all communications to the secretary of the State executive board, Thomas Catton, 114 Warren avenue.

## IOWA

Branch No. 1, Hiawatha, meets every fourth Friday in the month at Opera House. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 13.

## KENTUCKY

Branch No. 1, Newport, Ky., meets every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock at Socialist headquarters, 614 York street. A. L. Nagel, secretary, 116 E. Third St.

## MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 1, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, organizer, 77 Jackson street.

Branch No. 2, Roxbury, meets at 24 Warren street, second and fourth Fridays of every month. Public invited.

## MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 1 p.m., at 10 W. Main street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, secretary.

## MINNESOTA

Branch No. 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geisswein, on Main street. A. Kungsberg, secretary.

## MISSOURI

Branch No. 1, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p.m., at Haldemann's Hall,

## WORLD POWER OF TRUSTS

By MAX NORDAU

Max Nordau's article on American trusts and magnates which appeared in the Vienna *Freie Presse*, has raised a stir in socialistic circles of Europe. It has also evoked editorial comment from the press generally and is quoted in connection with the recent invasion of American capital in the old world. In part Nordau said: "The trust will not be confined to the western hemisphere. It will assume an international, a world character. The monopolization of the steel industry of the entire world is a huge enterprise. It is not above the power of the giants who are at the head of the steel trust."

"The steel business is a mighty industry, which in every country is in the hands of only a few. Negotiations for a universal combine need to be conducted with comparatively few individuals. It would not be difficult to reach an agreement. First national trusts will be organized and these will be formed into an international combine. Factories the world over will be opened and closed only at the command of the trust kings."

"The real lords of creation will meet in annual conference to determine how much iron and steel shall be manufactured, in what markets they shall be placed and the amount of wages for the various workingmen. All factory owners, employees and buyers will be forced to submit to these decrees, for all subordination will meet with severe punishment."

"They will obey like slaves and the entire world will find itself compelled to pay for pens, knives, nails and a hundred and one articles of steel and iron the price decided on by the magnates."

"This will gradually place mankind in the power of a few conquerors. In this way a new feudalism will be called into existence, much more powerful and exacting than the old—an aristocracy of multimillionaires, more haughty than that of the crusaders, more self-willed than that of royalty, which, though crowned, is hemmed in by oppressive constitutions. Neros will be created whose insane pride will originate unknown forms of abject submission and who will spur the servile disposition of the multitude to despicable expressions of doggish flattery. Their covetousness will pump the pockets and veins of humanity to the dregs. Their whims will make wars and sow destructions. Their fear of human liberty, their hatred of personal independence will strangle or at least check the intellectual and moral progress of humanity."

"Is this picture exaggerated? It is true to the letter. The trusts have not yet had time to develop all their possibilities, to know their own strength. We have seen how a Pullman allowed thousands of his workingmen to perish when they had the audacity to rebel against his sway. We have witnessed how the sugar and tobacco trusts conceived and brought about the Spanish-American war, imposed a protectorate over Cuba, alleged to have been freed, and demanded the bloody conquest of the Philippines. On the other hand, the gaping multitudes admire the generosity of a Rockefeller or Carnegie who gave millions for the founding of educational institutions, museums and public libraries. Thus evil and good seem to be balanced in the eyes of the superficial observers."

"Remember that we have only to deal now with the first generation of these new rulers of the world, the conquerors who with their own hands have founded their golden empire. I reiterate they are not aware of the extent of their sway. They are sons of the common people, offspring of obscure families. Most of them have begun life in poverty and humility like Charles Schwab, and they cannot rid themselves of the psychical conditions of their youth of deprivation. Wait till the sons of these industry strangleists assume the reins of state. These will be fully conscious of their prodigious power. The Caesarian frenzy will possess them."

"This is the natural development of trusts. They are a scourge of humanity, a monster which civilization has generated to its own annihilation. On the other hand, I believe that even the trusts hide an element of the highest usefulness. They are not an end but a transit. They mark another step toward the evil, but they prepare a certain progress also toward the good."

"There is a dogma in the political economy which for centuries has remained unassailed. Production and prices depend altogether on demand. When the demand is great then prices will rise steadily and the high prices induce manufacturers to flood the market. Then prices will decrease until they no longer offer sufficient profit for the manufacturers."

"This dogma appears clear and credible, and yet it is false. It is only true in the early stages of industrial life in its anarchic phase. Every manufacturer locks himself in his narrow, mad selfishness. His cardinal aim is to pocket all the profits and he does not care that his neighbor suffers. He manufactures at great demands in insane haste to the detriment of his fellow man who lags behind. The latter is regarded as an enemy whom he feels constrained to conquer to save himself. He tries to

rob him of his patrons, to close markets against him, and the most effective means seems to him to be to undersell him everywhere and at all times."

"What is the labor proletariat? The anarchic rivalry. Why can wages never rise above a mere pittance to keep body and soul together? Because there is a vast reserve army of laborers who are ready at the least revolt to offer their labor at cheaper wages. Without knowing it the trusts in their covetous quest play in the hand of socialism. What the proletariat is not able to realize is in the power of capitalists. The proletarians are poor. Laws and institutions are against them. The trusts are rich; they make such laws as suit their purposes. They are an example to the proletarians. They become their educators."

"Let the multimillionaires reign! Let them heap their gold sky high. The feast will not last. The proletarians will look on in patience. Then will come the time when they will simply dethrone the multimillionaires and elect their own executors from among the laborers. The history of our globe teaches that in all geological epochs all animal species just before their extinction appeared in their most prodigious form."

## SCHWAB ON TRUSTS

In a discussion of the good and bad effects of industrial consolidations, in the current number of the North American Review, Charles M. Schwab, who draws a million a year as manager of the steel trust, and sees nothing but good in them, bases his argument on the trade axiom that "the larger the output, the smaller, relatively, is the cost of production," and he says that it "is the recognition of this principle that has brought about the era of business consolidation now in full swing in the United States." A concern employing 100,000 men can be handled as easily today as one employing 100 fifty years ago, and the cost of production is greatly decreased. He cites as an example the Metropolitan Street Railway company in New York city, made by consolidating eighteen distinct lines, each supporting a full compliment of officers. In the consolidation, Mr. H. H. Vreeland was made president and the superfluous officers dispensed with. Mr. Schwab describes this as "the cutting-off of a lot of dead wood," and he declares that "the benefit that has accrued from it is immeasurable." To enumerate: "The community has better service than it could have looked for in fifty years under the old scheme. The stockholders have more certain and growing returns, for the business of the old companies has been trebled by the new, thanks to the improved service. The number of workingmen employed in the service has been increased fivefold and their wages have been increased from twenty-five to one hundred per cent. All this has come about because the roads under combined management could avail themselves of expert services the employment of which, under separate management, was out of the question." And in manufacturing, a further saving is effected by the lopping off of the middle-man, "who, at every step between production and consumption, was wont to take a big slice of profit, adding so much to the ultimate cost without adding anything to the value."

The popular idea that the main object of the consolidations is to increase prices, Mr. Schwab disputes. "Here and there," he says, "a combination may have been effected with the idea of increasing the cost to the buyer; but wherever this has been the case, the combination has failed"; and, he adds, it was "bound to fail" because "any industry that is important enough to warrant combination is important enough to attract capital in competition, if it endeavors unfairly to increase the price of its production." The Standard Oil company itself "was never at any stage able to effect a monopoly," and "it has today, and always has had, a very considerable competition. It made hundreds of millions of dollars for its chief stockholders, not because it increased the price of oil, but because it lowered it. That was the only reason why it continued to exist and to flourish, to meet all competition and to overcome it. It gave the consumer more for his money than he had ever received before; and, therefore, the consumer made the company great and prosperous."

The belief that the trust is a danger to the state, and that it does not give the young man a chance, Mr. Schwab handles as follows:

"That there is danger to the state in the combination is a preposterous idea. On the contrary, the well-managed combination is a distinct gain to the state. Any one who doubts this need only consult the foreign newspapers. Everywhere he will find a cry of industrial alarm leveled, not at the individual American manufacturer, but at the American nation. This is because the combination has done for the American state what the individual was never able to do—put it in industrial control of the world. A system that in a few years can do this ought certainly to be encouraged, and as it benefits the state, it necessarily benefits the individuals who make up the state."

"The capitalist and the laborer are equal sharers in the advantages the new scheme offers. Capital finds itself more amply protected, and labor finds an easier

route to a partnership with capital. To the workingmen the combination offers the most feasible scheme of industrial cooperation ever presented. Without waiting for any one's invitation, he may secure a partnership in the combination for which he works by investing his savings in the open market in the stock of the concern."

"Under the old individual business scheme, the skilled worker had only limited opportunity for increased pay, and practically no opportunity for a partnership participation. Business enterprises, with a few notable exceptions, were held as close family corporations. Outsiders were rarely admitted. No matter how experts these outsiders were, they were held all their lives on a salary. The concern where this rule did not apply expanded much more rapidly than their competitors, but the example so set was apparently not sufficiently attractive to induce its general application. It remained for the system of combination to make the scheme general, and to open up for young men of brains opportunities that heretofore have been closed to them. Instead, therefore, of restricting the opportunities for the mass of men, as the political agitators and others tell us is the case, the era of combination has very materially enlarged these opportunities."

A new argument for the industrial combination Mr. Schwab brings forward in the following paragraph:

"One of the greatest advantages that will come of the concentration of industries is the development that it will bring to our latent resources. Under the expensive system of individual control, much of our natural wealth remained unavailable, and would have so remained for a long time to come. Where each step in the process of production had to yield a distinct profit to a certain class of men, the margin was not sufficiently large to warrant the exploitation of many fields rich with raw material. A concern that produces its own raw materials, and works them up through the various processes until it delivers the manufactured product in the domestic or foreign market, can work on a narrower margin all around, and yet do full justice to its stockholders and employees."

## What Success Has Done

Success has succeeded in enriching bondholders and impoverishing plowholders.

Success has succeeded in housing robbers in palaces and honest artisans in jail.

Success has succeeded in shackling the people with a forged national debt which is not reduced by payment.

Success has succeeded in turning government over to eminent corruptionists and made bribery and thievery respectable.

Success has succeeded in making vice virtuous and virtue vicious.

Success has succeeded in transferring the wealth of the useful to the fortunes of the useless.

Success has succeeded in reducing the per cent of national wealth in the hands of producers from 43½ in 1860 to 17 in 1890.

Success has succeeded in increasing the per cent of national wealth in the possession of parasites from 56½ in 1860 to 83 in 1890.

Success has succeeded in cities in converting the council chamber into an auction room and knocking down special privileges (and aldermen) to the highest bidder.

Success has succeeded in states in giving government over to mercenary and glutinous corporations, permitting the rich to escape taxation and corporation lawyers to write decisions for judges on the bench.

Success has succeeded in the nation at large in making liberty grotesque, statesmanship ridiculous, patriotism criminal, talent worthless and industry fruitless.

Success has succeeded in stultifying intellect, brutalizing manhood, commercializing religion and sticking a flag on the schoolhouse to cover its shame and deceiving the new generation into believing that this is "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

So far it appears that the church is unable to restrain the stage from pandering to a "vicious element." The trouble is that a large per cent of the church-going people patronize the theaters.

Next Sunday, July 21, the Social Democrats of Seeleyville Ind., will hold a picnic at Laughner's Grove. There will be a program of music, recitations and speeches and a good time for all who attend.

Karl Marx Biographical Memoirs, written by William Liebknecht, is an exceedingly interesting book, giving the reader a picture of the domestic life of Marx during his exile and residence in London. It is translated by E. Untermaier and published by C. H. Kerr & Co.

A good habit to contract: To secure a new subscriber for The Herald each week of your life. Do this and you will be surprised how much one man can do for Socialism.

## Miscellaneous Notes

The way the McKinley prosperity had is working is seen in the fact that a young man in Kansas City, employed in a jewelry store, stole a tray of diamonds from his employer. The judge who tried and sentenced the young man said, in effect, that the diamond merchant who paid his clerk \$6.00 a week deserved to have his diamonds stolen as a penalty for his contemptible meanness.

The case has attracted attention and comment. One paper asks: "Ought the wages of employees to bear any relation to the value of things they handle, the degree of temptation to which they are exposed, or the facilities afforded by the positions they fill for appropriating their employer's property?"

It is affirmed that most of the great embezzlements, the looting of banks, trusts, railroads and other institutions, are not the work of underpaid employees, and that "large salaries do not furnish security against rascality." This may or may not be true, but whether true or false, it affords no excuse for the mercenary meanness of employers who, taking advantage of conditions, filch from the poor devils they employ the wages they earn to enrich themselves—while boasting of the country's prosperity.

Rosy writers of the rainbow type represent Porto Rico as a sort of paradise for the poor. It is a land of eternal summer, whose poverty, ignorance, degradation, happiness and contentment constitute conditions specially favorable for the sway of despotism. All of the hullabaloo about constitution, congress, Supreme court, liberty and Independence day does not bother the great mass of Porto Ricans. They construct their huts of the bark and branches of trees, utilize gourds for buckets and other dishes, live upon fruits and vegetables, which a generous Providence sends them. Little clothing is required for adults and none at all for the kids. Fire and fuel are non-essentials and life to the natives moves on about the same as to orangutangs. A satrap in command of an army keeps things quiet, and Emperor McKinley surveys affairs from his throne and is happy and secure as a long-necked clam at flood tide.

The colonization of Jews in Palestine, old Canaan, once given to Abraham for an inheritance, the first great land grant on record, is said to be progressing satisfactorily. It is not likely that the Jews in the United States will pull up stakes and emigrate to Canaan, but there are multiplied thousands of them in other lands who would find the old country of their fathers a great improvement on present conditions, and rich Jews seem determined to rescue the land from the rule of the sultan, rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, and re-establish the kingdom of David and Solomon. The idea is a good one.

A Labor day exhibition of appreciation of the triumph of labor in trying to catch swine by grasping their greased tails, is not an intellectual exercise.

Grievance, scale, scab, conference, meetings, orations, resolutions, sympathy, strike, assessment, collection, distribution, parade, injunction, marshals, clubs, blows, troops, guns, bullets, bang, dead, dying, wounded, compromise, fizzle. The old story. Better try Socialism.

Coleridge discovered "two and seven stanzas, all well defined, and several stanzas" in the city of Cologne. If he could visit Philadelphia where Quayism festers and rots like garbage under a tropical sun he could count ten times more stanzas than ever existed in Cologne.

Emperor McKinley, owing to the serious affliction of the empress, will decline all invitations to parades, reviews, banquets, etc., and will send his cabinet satraps to represent him on such occasions.

## MERRIE ENGLAND

German Edition

The Famous Book by Robert Blatchford, translated into German by Victor L. Berger, Editor of Vorwärts.

188 Pages. PRICE, 15 Cents

Admirable for Propaganda Among Germans  
Send Orders to this Office

SPRAVEDLHOST  
(JUSTICE)  
BOHEMIAN WEEKLY PUBLISHED  
BY THE BOHEMIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC BRANCHES OF CHICAGO

Subscription, \$1.50 a year  
Address, 700-702 Leomin Street, Chi.: nols

## Appeal to Reason

Socialist Weekly with 100,000 subscribers  
and the number growing with every issue

Is Unique—Nothing else like it

Will be sent to your address fifty-two weeks for fifty cents. G. Ward, Kansas

Watch this space for  
Annual subscriptionsTHE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC  
RED BOOK

Edited by THEODORE DEBE

Printed on Photo Paper

This is an unusual paper, very fine for Social Dem.

who will find it indispensable for reference. This edition is of special value because of the political character of its contents. Among the contents:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.

Containing 30 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Eugene Debs, William Webber, etc., etc.

ALBERT KERCHNER

The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIBRALTAR

By W. W. Smith, with view of Appeal to Reason.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX

MACHINES vs. HUMAN LABOR

Compiled from government reports by Lester Ladd.

SHOOTER'S PIGEON

Labor Conference in 1898, Gronlund, Green Alcorn, Clark for 1898, Democracy of Social Democracy, Socialist Controversies of 1898, The "Golden Rule Masons," Fred. Meier's Case, Social Democratic Platform, etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL-KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS

Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY

Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Send postpaid an receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

## Grand Basket Picnic

Given by the

German Branches  
of the Social Democratic Party  
of Chicago

## SUNDAY, JULY 21, 1901

## IN BECKER'S GROVE

Twenty-second Street and Ridgeland Avenue

Take Metropolitan Elevated (Garfield Park line) to Forty-eighth Avenue, and then LaGrange Cars via Twenty-second and Twenty-second Streets to the Grove

ADMISSION FREE

PRIZE BOWLING, GAMES, SPORTS, REFRESHMENTS  
GOOD MUSIC AND A FINE DANCING PAVILION  
A Genuine Good Time is Assured ... Don't Miss It

## SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth, \$2.00

F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revolution, Cloth, \$1.00

Gronlund—The Co-operative Commonwealth, Paper, \$1.00

A. G. Bellamy—Women, Past, Present and Future, \$1.00

B. L. Babbitt—Men, Past, Present and Future, \$1.00

Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward, \$1.00

Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth, \$1.00

Lissagaray—History of the Commune of 1871, \$1.0